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DEFENCE
OF THE
Courage, Honour and Loyalty
OF THE
IRISH-NATION.
IN

ANSWER to the scandalous Reflections in the
FREE-BRITON, and Others.

WITH

Some extraordinary PARTICULARS relating to the Battles
of the BOYNE and AGHRIM, and the two Sieges of
LIMERICK, not to be met with in the Histories of
those Times.

ALSO OF

The BRAVERY of the IRISH at BENBURB, CREMONA,
SPIRES, DETTINGEN, FONTENAY, &c.

By CHARLES FORMAN, Esq;

The FIFTH EDITION.

DUBLIN:

Printed for, and sold by, O. ADAMS, and T. RYDER, and
P. WILSON, Bookseller, on the *Blind-Quay*.

M DCC LXVII.

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D E F E N C E

O F T H E

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IRISH HISTORY

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M D C C L X V I I

[Price Six-Pence]



(4)
TO THE

FREE-BRITON.

SIR,

Paris, April —

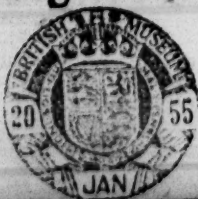
ERE I acquainted either with your
W person or character, I should know
how to treat you in the course of this
letter; but as I am entirely ignorant
of both, I chuse to confine myself within the
bounds of good manners, rather than give the
world occasion to censure those liberties in me,
which I believe no man of sense or breeding
will approve in you.

It is almost impossible for an author who
writes upon nothing but public affairs, and
openly professes himself an enemy to the poli-
tics in the *Craftsman*, not to have seen my let-
ter to sir *Robert Sutton*, printed at *London* in the
beginning of the year 1728, relating to the *Irish*
troops in the service of *France* and *Spain*. As
I presume then that you are no stranger to what
I publish'd concerning their bravery, you know
the obligations of honour I lye under to take
notice of your paper of the 12th of *November*

A 2

last

last and to tell you in the face of your country, that if the facts I related in that letter were false, it would have been as much to your purpose, as I am sure it was suitable to your inclination, to shew that they were so; since your intention was not only to brand those troops, but the whole *Irish* nation in general with the infamous character of cowardice. But, instead of taking such a method; instead of detecting me of partiality, design, or ignorance, as you ought to have done, and of all which I shall endeavour to convict you in your paper now lying before me, you throw out your scandal and defamation with as great an assurance, and as little dread of reproof, as if no such piece had ever appear'd in the world. Let me ask you then, sir, whoever you are, whether so ungentleman-like a proceeding, has not, to use your own words, an air of disingenuity, which does not consist with a lover of truth, and a friend to the public interest? Whether it has not something in it that interferes with the duty you owe to *Great-Britain*? Whether it has not even all the indications of ill-nature and ill-breeding in it, which a man of temper could wish to meet with in an antagonist, with whom he is forced into a public dispute? For my part, I am a little surprized, that some resenting *Irishman*, or rather some generous *English*, *Scotch*, or *Welshman*, has not long before this time given you to understand, that national reflections deserve due correction, and never ought to pass with impunity; that gentlemen and men of honour



honour never make use of them ; and that they are in every respect, as indecent and offensive to civil society, as dishonourable and dangerous to that government, which either partially tolerates, or unjustly encourages them.

It has ever been the practice of crafty politicians, to disunite us, by fomenting feuds, and propagating national animosities between *England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Those able ministers, *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, made use of this piece of state craft with great dexterity and success ; a success which will remain written in the annals of *Britain*, in bloody characters, to the end of time : But, I think, mr *Walsingham* has, in one single sheet of paper, pitched the bar beyond any thing I have yet met with in the most voluminous, or the most inveterate writer. However, I have charity enough to believe that you over-shot yourself, and did not intend to be altogether so malicious when you set out, as you prove to be in the course of your journey. Slander and calumny, it seems are most bewitching subjects for a narrow mind to exercise its faculties upon ; they insensibly lead those men into impertinencies and absurdities, who apply their studies, and bend their talents that way. Besides, I admit you was in haste to answer the *Craftsman*. How could you possibly then have time to consider, that, by defaming *Ireland*, you obliquely threw a most barbarous reflection upon that brave old nation, distinguish'd by the name of *Scots* before the union ? the *Scots* being descended from
the

the *Irish* *, or the *Irish* from them, no great matter which ; they are both but the same people, according to the best historians.

NEITHER indeed are the nobility and gentry of *England* and *Wales* themselves entirely free from the rebounds of your reflections : Like *Drawcanfir*, in the *Rehearsal*, you neither spare friends nor foes. The frequent intermarriages between the ancient and noble families of the four nations have so mixed their blood, that as there are but very few *Irishmen* at present, of any rank or figure in their country, but what have *English* and *Scotch* blood in their veins, and relations in *Britain*, so there are as few ancient *British* families, whose ancestors have not some time or other, by the female line, been *Irish*. Even the greatest antiquity the august house of *Hanover* itself can boast, is deduced from the royal stem of *Ireland*, some hundreds of years before the coming of our Saviour, or we must cry down all chronology till a few centuries ago, which I don't think either just or advisable to do. These are things which, I am sensible, did not occur
to

* It is agreed on, by all historians of any note, that the *Scots* are descended from the *Irish*, the *Irish* being then call'd *Scots* ; from thence came that distinction of *Great-Scotland*, or *Ireland*, and *Little-Scotland*, or *North-Britain*. However, they are not agreed as to the time of their first settling in *Britain*, for the *Scotch* historians, viz. *Hector Boethius*, *Buchanan*, *Mackenzie* say, that they settled there 300 years before the birth of our Saviour ; and, on the other hand, *Usher*, *Loyd*, and *Stillington* affirm, they did not fix there till the year of our Lord 503.

to you in the rage and fury of your imagination, of which you have given us so much foam and froth; but I look upon them not altogether unworthy the attention of *Britons*, as being sufficient to convince them, that no general reflection can be thrown upon the *Irish*, in which they will not find the honour of their own families to be in some degree or other injured, and the affront to extend to *Great-Britain*, as well as to *Ireland*.

WHEREFORE, as meanly as you think of the *Irish* troops abroad, and as unfairly as you have represented their behaviour in arms, I shall, for once, undertake their defence, and in this quarrel, which I take to be in some measure, a *British* as well as an *Irish* one, I shall venture to measure a pen with a man who has dared to declare war against a whole kingdom. *In magnis voluisse sat est.* This subject, I confess, may seem a little unpopular and ill-tim'd in the opinion of some men, but I do not write for the mob: I address myself to none but gentlemen, or at least, to none but men of candour and good nature, and not to the by-assed or mercenary part of the town. I cannot expect, that any gallant, worthy *Britain*, will either turn pale, or grow splenetic at any praises justly bestowed upon an *Irishman*, or think the worse of his bravery, because his fellow-subject has courage. King *William* heard of the business of *Cremona* a few days before his death; and the only alleviating circumstance the generous hero found in that unfortunate affair,

affair, was the gallant behaviour of the *Irish*; because, tho' they were his enemies, they were nevertheless his subjects, and the glory they acquired by their courage in that action, on which the fate of *France* and *Spain* depended, received still a greater lustre by the honour his majesty thought it did to his *British* dominions. That great prince knew that the *Irish* had an aversion to him; he had nevertheless an esteem and friendship for them: He knew them better than you do, if you are really in earnest in what you say, and was sensible that their aversion did not proceed from any dislike to his person, but a disapprobation of his title to the crown, which by the unhappy turn of their education and principles, they looked upon to be ill grounded and unjust. But whatever the troops abroad may be, the present *Irish* at home have given no symptoms of dissatisfaction at the accession of the august house of *Hanover* to the crown of *Ireland*: By all that I could ever hear, they have behaved themselves like dutiful subjects, and therefore I think they have a right to be treated as such, instead of being abused and insulted in so outrageous a manner, as I shall shew you have done before you and I part.

BUT, to return to the *Irish* regiments in *France*. Whatever I have said to their advantage in my letter to sir *Robert Sutton*, I assure you I could have added a great deal more in their favour, than I was inclined to do at that time, or perhaps do with pleasure at present;

But

But since the injustice of your epithets, and the disingenuity of your assertions call for a supplement to the commendations I then gave them, I shall endeavour to convince you and all *Britain*, how much you have been mistaken in almost every thing you have advanced to their prejudice. In doing so, I shall take care not to follow an example lately set me in a contrary strain. I present myself upon the theatre of *Great-Britain* with too much awe of my audience, and too great a love for my countrymen, to attempt in the least at imposing upon them. I thank God, I never published any thing yet with so wicked and so villainous a design; and tho' I may be as liable to receive false information as other men, which however I hardly believe to be the case at present, yet I shall take care not to advance any thing contrary to my own judgment, or my own belief of the matter. This is all I think necessary to say by way of preface; and now, sir, I am ready to join issue with you upon the subject of your paper.

To recommend yourself to your readers, and give them, no doubt, a great idea of your integrity, and knowledge of your subject, you introduce it with a very gross error, when you tell us, in speaking of the establishment of the *Irish* regiments in *France*, that their companies contain a hundred men (*consist of* was the phrase, when I had the honour to serve in the war-office of *Great-Britain*) and therefore they are doubly officer'd; as to their being trebly

officer'd, you say it is new, and was never yet heard of. Mr. *Walsingham*, you had certainly opportunities of being better informed ; and yet, if I prove, that you either know but very little of the matter, or else have wilfully imposed on your readers, you cannot blame them, if they look upon you for the future, to be far from infallible, or too scrupulously sincere in other respects. I grant, that the *Irish* consisted of a hundred men a company before the peace of *Ryswick* ; from that time to the peace of *Rastad*, they were but fifty men a company ; they were then reformed to forty men a company, as they remain at present, and fifteen companies to a battalion. There is, I think then, some small difference between forty and an hundred men a company : Besides, if you had remember'd, that there are also brigades of *Irish* officers dispersed in several garrisons on the frontiers, you would have found that the regiments of that nation in *France* can be more than trebly officer'd upon occasion ; and whenever you please to call upon me to do so, I can shew you from one of your own favourite authors whom I decline naming at present, out of respect to him, that the way of treble officering is not altogether so new and unheard of, as you affect to make it. It is likewise well known, that the *Irish* regiments are more than doubly officer'd without the brigades*.

As

* They are so season'd to dangers, and so perfected in the art of war, that not only the serjeants and corporals, but even the private men can make very good officers, upon occasion. See his letter to sir Robert Sutton.

As to their atchievements and exploits in the late wars, which you say are so mightily exaggerated, and of which you are so very desirous of being informed, for your better satisfaction, I refer you for part of them, to my before mentioned letter to sir *Robert* ; but before I regale you with more, I must take notice of another small mistake of yours, in telling us, that all you can say to their advantage is, that *Louis* the XIVth would never trust them in *Flanders*. 'Tis, you peremptorily add, a fact of the greatest notoriety. I cannot tell who is your Intelligencer, or from what hand you had your information ; but I shall venture to assert, that never was a more notorious, or more barefac'd untruth offer'd to be impos'd upon *Britons*. There are even several officers still living in his majesty king *George* the second's service, who can contradict you. *Louis* XIV. not only trusted them in *Flanders* ; but also in *Alsace*, *Italy*, *Piedmont*, *Catalonia*, and in every place where the war was hottest. Wherever they serv'd, whether they had courage or not, they always had the good fortune to distinguish themselves : And it may be said to their eternal honour, that from the time they enter'd into the service of *France*, to this hour, they have never made the least false step, or have had the least blot in their scutcheon. Without drawing unfair conclusions from uncertain premisses, or ungenerously endeavouring to stain the reputation of any country by odious reflections, because it has sometimes met with unfortunate events,

and

and one time has not been as favourable to it as another, we may say the *Danes*, the *Brandenburghers*, the *Bavarians*, the *Hanoverians*, the *Dutch*, and several other gallant and war-like nations, have sometimes been obliged to shew their backs to the *French*; but I will defy the most malicious and prejudiced man to name the place where the *Irish* misbehaved themselves either at home or abroad, since they became disciplin'd men. Had they done so in the *French* service, *Europe* would have known it with a witness; for, believe me, *France* is not a country for cowards to gain renown in. It is not apt to forget how gallantly *Sarsfield*, earl of *Lucan*, and the *Irish*, behav'd at *Landen*, where that officer receiv'd his death wound, but gain'd as much honour by his generosity and humanity to the *English*, in that fatal battle, as by his bravery and conduct in the field.

I SHALL give you other proofs immediately, that the *Irish* were trusted in *Flanders*; but I must tell you first, that in the siege of *Barcelona*, in the year 1697, the great *Vendosme* was so charmed with their courage, and so amazed at the intrepidity of their behaviour, that the particular esteem and notice with which he distinguish'd them, even to the day of his death, is yet very well remembered in *France*. If what I say here is not literally true, there are *Frenchmen* enough still living to contradict me. Nor was the behaviour of *Clare's* regiment, commanded by the lord *Clare* in person, less remarkable at *Blenheim*, where they cut a *Dutch*,

or

or *German* regiment to pieces, consisting of 1500 men, and commanded by colonel *Goore*. The colonel himself, with a few of his officers, and about 60 men, were all that escaped the fury of those infamous cowards, as you most politely term them. The melancholy dejected *Goore*, went the next morning to the duke of *Marlborough's* levee, where, as he was giving his grace an account of the action, an *English* colonel (perhaps a relation of yours) says pertly to him, I wish I had been in your place: I wish with all my heart you had, replies *Goore* very gravely to him, I should have had a very good regiment to day, and you would have been without one. The duke smiled, and every body applauded the justness of the repartee. I assure you, mr. *Walsingham*, that if every regiment in the *French* army had behaved that day like the *Irish*, *England*, instead of a trifling expence in building a house to preserve the memory of so great a victory as the duke of *Marlborough* gained at *Blenheim*, would have found herself incumbered with a fugitive emperor, a numerous imperial family, which she must, at a heavy charge, have been obliged to maintain, if a visit from the *Chevalier* had not brought a worse remedy to prevent it. But now for another trip into *Flanders*, because I find that place to be your great field of battle.

At *Ramilies*, we see *Clare's* regiment shining with trophies, and cover'd with laurels again, even in the midst of a discomfited, routed army. They had to do with a regiment, which
I assure

I assure you was neither a *Dutch* or a *German* one, and their courage precipitated them so far in pursuit of their enemy, that they found themselves engaged at last in the throng of our army, where they brav'd their fate with incredible resolution, till an *Italian* regiment in the service of *France*, and a regiment vulgarly called *Cravats*, generously pushed up to their relief, and as bravely favour'd their retreat. I could be much more particular in relating this action, but some reasons oblige me, in prudence, to say no more of it. However, if you are desirous to know what regiment it was they engaged that day, the colours in the cloister of the *Irish* nuns at *Ipres*, which I thought had been taken by another *Irish* regiment, will satisfy your curiosity. The brave lord *Clare* himself, who was noted in the *French* army for his intrepidity in action, was mortally wounded in this battle, and died a few days after in *Brussels*; which is another proof that the *Irish* were in *Flanders*. His son has now the same regiment; and when I tell you that he gives his friends all the expectations imaginable of seeing him equal, if not surpass his father, it is as much as can be said of any man. This young lord has been more than once in *England*, to visit his relation the earl of *Thomond*. You may possibly have seen him there; at least, those who have, will readily allow that I do him no more than justice.

In the battle of *Blaregnies* or *Malplaquet*, where *Lee's*, *O Brian's* (which was *Clare's*, and

is now *Clare's* again) *Dorrington's* now *Roth's*, called the *Royal Irish*, *Galmoy's* and *O'Donnel's* regiments of foot, and also *Neugent's* regiment of horse, of whose bravery against the *Ger-*
mans at *Spireback*, I have given an account in my letter to sir *Robert* *. It is well known besides, that the town of *Aire* has been trusted by *Louis XIVth* to *Clare's* regiment, without any other regiment in the garrison with it. How can you say then, that the *French* king would never trust the *Irish* in *Flanders*? How can you modestly or reasonably desire any man
to

* To their valour in a great measure *France* owes, not only most of what trophies she gained in the late war, but even her own preservation. At *Spireback*, *Nugent's* regiment of horse, by a brave charge upon two regiments of cuirassiers, brought a compleat victory to an army, upon which fortune was just turning her back. At *Toulon*, lieutenant general *Dillon* distinguish'd himself, and chiefly contributed to the preservation of that important place. To the *Irish* regiments also, under the conduct of that intrepid and experienced officer, count *Medavi* himself very generously attributed his victory over the *Imperialists* in *Italy*: and the poor *Catalans* will for ever have reason to remember the name of mr. *Dillon*, for the great share he had in the famous siege of *Barcelona*, so fatal to their nation. Sir *Andrew Lee*, shewed likewise how consummate a soldier he was, when he defended *Lisle* under the marshal duke de *Bouffleurs*, against those thunderbolts of war the prince of *Savoy* and our own invincible duke of *Marlborough*. And lieutenant general *Roth* has, by several memorable actions, particularly his conduct under the duke de *Berwick* in the late war between *France* and *Spain*, acquired an immortal reputation, and shewn himself not inferior to any of the best of the *Irish* generals abroad. In short the *Irish* troops did the allies the most considerable damage which they received in the last war.

to give credit to what you tell him for the future?

As I grow quite tired with relating facts known to so many thousands of living witnesses, and indeed to almost every body but the candid, undesigning, good natured *Free-Briton*, I shall not enter into any particular detail of the behaviour of the *Irish* at *Cremona*, because it has been many years in print in more forms than one. But here I am forced to have charity for you again, and suppose that you never saw or heard any thing of it; for certainly if you had, a man of so scrupulous an integrity, would not have fail'd to take notice of it. Wherefore, to set you right in that affair, and make you acquainted in miniature with one of the greatest atchievements that ever was performed by mortal men; I must recommend to your perusal the *lettres historiques mois de mars 1702*, page 254, where you will find what a generous *Frenchman* says of it: You will find that the *Irish* perform'd there the most important piece of service for *Louis* the XIVth, that, perhaps, any king of *France* ever received from so small a body of men, since the foundation of that monarchy. In reading that little piece, tho' the author has omitted several material circumstances, or rather given but an imperfect sketch of their actions, there you will meet with three things, which I am afraid will not fail to mortify you. 1. That the only two *Irish* regiments that were in the town, viz. *Dillon's* and *Bourk's*, the former still

still in *France*, and the other in *Spain*, were the first to signalize themselves on that important day. 2. That those two regiments not only repulsed the cuirassiers that were sent, with orders to put them all to the sword, and killed their leaders; but also, in another action, some hours after, attacked the gross body of the cuirassiers and their foot together; defeated them, drove them from the ramparts they were masters of, and took their kettle-drums; I suppose, that a gentleman of your universal reading and knowledge, one so well acquainted with *Livy*, *Quintus Curtius*, and his supplementer, *Freinsbemi*, as likewise with the military discipline of the antients, is not quite so great a stranger to the moderns, as to need being told, that the cuirassiers are cavalry with back and breast-plates, steel caps, &c. and are consequently men of strength and stature, in proportion, mounted on horses equal in size and force to the weight they carry, and the service for which they were designed. 3. That it was an *Irish* officer, with two and twenty of his countrymen, that first defended the *Po-Gate*, upon the possession of which, the success of the whole affair depended: In doing so, he prevented the conjunction of prince *Vaudemont* with the prince of *Savoy*, defeated one of the greatest and best formed enterprizes that ever was undertaken; disappointed that child of fortune the mighty *Eugene* himself, and baffled the whole *German* army. The same piece will also shew you the importance of the *Po-Gate*,

which the prince caused to be so vigorously and so often attack'd, and for want of which, he could not take *Cremona*, tho' he had made himself master of three gates, the town-house, the great church, and several other places of consequence, before the garrison took the alarm*.

THIS action of the *Irish*, by an impartial way of reasoning, saved the whole *French* army in *Italy*, the destruction of which, according to the account itself, as well as the opinion of all military men, must have been the infallible consequence of the loss of *Cremona*. It was also thought, in *England*, to have so much influence over the affairs of *Europe*, as they stood at that time, that, as I have been informed, a member of the house of commons, upon the arrival of the news, said, in parliament, that those two regiments had done more mischief to the High Allies, than all the *Irish* abroad could have done, had they been kept at home, and left in the entire possession of their estates. So little did your doctrine prevail in those days. This had something of the same spirit in it with what a noble *Spaniard* said once in *Paris*, That were it not for the great actions of the *Irish*, the *Chevalier*, to whom he gave another title, would be quite forgot in *Europe*.

SIR,

* He likewise saw the marshal duke *de Villeroy* his prisoner, who was taken by colonel *Macdonnel*, an *Irishman* in the emperor's service.

SIR, I am sensible, that this is but an unfavoury sort of entertainment for you, but I shall endeavour to change the bill of fare immediately, and torment you no farther with the behaviour of the *Irish* abroad : Had they done nothing else, this one action would alone be sufficient to eternize them. The generals also of that nation have been as remarkable for their conduct, as the troops for their bravery. I have formerly mentioned sir *Andrew Lee*, lieutenant general and grand croix of the order of St. *Louis*, lieutenant general *Dillon*, lieutenant general *Rath*, and major general *Nugent* : I might also have named the lord *Galmoy*, brigadier *O Donnel*, with several more, and among them, that brave old soldier major general *Morcough O Brien*, who has left a son behind him, that joins all the abilities of the statesman with the politeness of the courtier to the martial spirit of his father. The *British* ministry cannot but be acquainted with the character he bears here.

As to the *Irish* in *Spain*, I have not been altogether so exactly informed of their actions ; wherefore I don't venture to say more of them than that they consist, at present, of eight regiments, at least, and are in as great esteem there, upon account of their eminent services to that crown, especially in the late war of *Sicily*, as their countrymen are in *France* : That sir *Patrick Lawless*, formerly ambassador from his catholic majesty to the most christian king, lieutenant general and governor of *Majorca*,

lieutenant general *Crafton*, count *Mahony*, and several other officers of that nation, in *Spain*, would think themselves highly injured, to be thought in any respect, relating to bravery, inferior to those I have already named. During a great part of the late war in *Spain*, the *Gazettes* took frequent notice of the actions of a young cavalier, *don de Cardenas*, one of the great scourges of the *Miquelets* : now I must tell you, that he was an *Irishman*, son to alderman *Gadiner* of *Dublin*, but the *Spaniards* changed his name to *Cardenas*, for the ease of pronouncing it.

PORTUGAL has also had several *Irishmen* of merit in her service, the last war, as major general *Bogan*, and others.

IN *Germany* too they have reaped their share of honour, and been advanced to the highest posts ; of which count *Taaf*, count *Brown*, general *O Dwyer*, governor of *Belgrade*, general *Walsh*, corruptly called *Wallis* in the *Gazettes*, count *O Neil*, colonel *Nealan*, with many more, in the Imperial service, is an undeniable proof. Is it not surprizing that such pusillanimous people, as you call them, should be so much taken notice of, and esteemed, even among the most warlike nations in *Europe* ? Is it not strange to see them, upon several occasions, not only commanding *Frenchmen*, *Spaniards*, and *Germans*, but even *Englishmen* too, of the greatest bravery and distinction, as I shall shew in its proper place.

I HOPE, Mr. *Walsingham*, that I have now given *Britons* a quite different idea of the
Irish

Irish abroad, from what you endeavoured to palm upon them ; let us then look a little into their behaviour at home : In doing which, I fear I shall rather put you to the torture, than any way contribute to your satisfaction ; because I shall be obliged to take more freedom with some of your assertions than may, perhaps, be agreeable to you, or consistent with the desire I suppose you have to pass in the world for an honest man.

Not satisfied with degrading the whole *Irish* nation, even to the lowest degree of paltrony, and forgetting *Benburb* * and the *Blackwater*,

* This battle was fought in the year 1646 ; mr *Carte*, in his history of the first duke of *Ormonde* gives the following account of it : “ *O Neile* had been early in the spring with the nuncio at *Kilkenny*, and having received from him an earnest of the supplies he was to receive, drew his forces together, and about the latter end of *May* had assembled an army of near 5000 foot and 500 horse. With these he advanced towards *Ardmagh*, and *Monroe* having drawn out his forces, to the number of 6000 foot and 800 horse, to oppose him, had on *Thursday June 4*, encamped ten miles short of that city, intending to rest there that night ; but receiving intelligence that the enemy’s design was to possess themselves of that place, he caused his army to march on to *Ardmagh*, thinking to find *O Neile* there and surprize him in his quarters. He did not reach *Ardmagh* till midnight, and then found that the enemy lay encamped seven miles further at *Benburb*. *O Neile* was strongly posted between two hills, a wood behind him, and on his right the river of *Blackwater*, which was thought difficult to be passed. *Monroe* marched early the next morning towards *Glaslogh*, the place appointed for the *Laggan* forces, and a party of 500 foot, which his brother *George Monroe* was bringing from *Colerane* to join him. *O Neile* having advice of the march of the

water, in the north of *Ireland*, you entertain us with this remarkable paragraph, in which, I make bold to tell you, there is not one word

the *Scots*, drew out all his horse to the top of the hill, where the battle was afterwards fought, and there took a view of *Monroe's* forces as they passed along the road on the other side of the river towards *Glaslogh*. Thinking himself safe by the river being between him and the enemy, and having intelligence that the party of 500 foot beforementioned was advancing on the side of *Dungannon*, he sent a detachment of horse, with a body of foot, to fall upon them in their march. Upon the approach of the *Irish* horse, *G. Monroe* posted his men so advantageously in some enclosures, that the horse could not attack them, the foot that were sent to second them not coming up in time. In the mean while the *Scots* army finding a ford in the river at *Kinard*, passed unexpectedly over it, and advanced towards the *Irish*. *O Neile* observing it, ordered his own regiment to possess a narrow pass in their way to his camp. The *Scots* with their field-pieces soon cleared the pass, and colonel *Richard O Farrel* retired with his men in good order to their main body. The noise of the cannon alarmed the party which had been sent towards *Dungannon*, and brought them back to the *Irish* army sooner than otherwise they would have come. *O Neile* amused the enemy for four hours with little skirmishes, and firing at a distance, till he got the sun on his back, which before was favourable to the *Scots*, and the detachment he expected had joined him. It was by this time near sun-set, and *Monroe*, who stood still all that while in order of battle within musket-shot of the enemy, without advancing, being much surprized to see that party, which at first view he took to be the *Laggan* horse, join the *Irish*, began to make his retreat. As he was drawing off his forces, *O Neile* advanced from the hill whereon he was posted with his army, having ordered his men not fire a piece till they were within a pike's length of the enemy, and then to fall in with them sword and pike in hand, which would give the victory to the robust men. His orders were well executed; the *English* regiment commanded by lord *Blaney* maintain'd their ground, till

word of truth, except in the last line or two.
 “ Whatever might produce this pusillanimity
 “ it is certain (*you say*) it always followed
 “ them at home, and why should we sus-
 “ pect those troops of bravery, at this time,
 “ who have been *infamous for cowardice*,
 “ whenever they fought against *Englisch-*
 “ *men*? Inasmuch, that it is universally
 “ granted, that king *James* the second could
 “ not have been so easily drove out of *Ire-*
 “ *land*, if he had not depended too much on
 “ the courage of the natives, and refused those
 “ *French* troops which his brother of *France*
 “ would have sent to his assistance. It was
 “ to this that our victory was so easy at the
 “ *Boyne*;

till he and most of his men were cut off. But *O Neile's* cavalry soon broke into the *Scots* horse, who being pushed and falling foul on their foot, disordered the whole body, and a general rout ensued. Sir *James Montgomery's* regiment was the only one which retired in a body; all the others fled in the utmost confusion, and most of the infantry were cut in pieces. Colonel *Conway*, after having two horses shot under him, made his escape almost miraculously to *Newry*, with captain *Burke* and about forty horse. Lord *Montgomery* was taken prisoner with about twenty one officers and 150 common soldiers. There were found 3243 slain on the field of battle, and others were killed the next day in the pursuit. *O Neile* had only about 70 killed and 200 wounded: he took all the *Scots* artillery, being four field-pieces, with most of their arms, thirty-two colours, their tents and baggage. The booty was very great; 1500 draught horses being taken, and two months provisions for the *Scots* army. *Monroe* fled without his wig and coat to *Lisnegarvy*, and immediately burnt *Dundrum*, deserted *Port a Down*, &c.” This *Monroe* was reckoned one of the best generals of his time, and his troops the bravest then in *Europe*, and had long been the terror of the northern *Irish*.

“ *Boyne* ; there not being, at that time, 1800
 “ *French* troops in king *James’s* army. // But
 “ when that prince was convinced of his er-
 “ ror, and found there was no dependence
 “ upon the courage of an *entire unmixed* body
 “ of *Irish*, by the sending over ten thousand
 “ *Frenchmen*, under the command of Mr. *St.*
 “ *Ruth*, he made so gallant an opposition to
 “ the *English* army, at the battle of *Agbrim*,
 “ that dispassionate men have thought, we
 “ owed our victory only to the accidental
 “ death of that general.”

THIS, I must confess, is lustily asserted ;
 but, if you speak to the best of your know-
 ledge and judgment, I pity your ignorance ;
 you are an antagonist so much below contend-
 ing with, that you are even too mean for no-
 tice. If you know better, and yet dare ven-
 ture to impose this heap of ill-connected falshoods upon your country, you are lost to all sense of shame or honesty. This reproof may sound harsh, but I hope to shew the justice of it, and for that reason I shall come to a closer engagement with you, than I have done hitherto : Let us then, impartially, enquire into the circumstances of the battles of the *Boyne* and *Agbrim*, and also of the two sieges of *Limerick*, and then let *Britons* decide the contest between us.

KING *James’s* army at the *Boyne* consisted of about twenty-nine thousand men, according to the muster-rolls, but if we consider the many accidents that hourly happen in an army,

as

as sickness, death, desertion, &c. to lessen the number, we shall hardly find them twenty-seven thousand effectives; if there were so many, the captains and commissaries were very honest men. As to the condition of those troops, most of those were new raised, raw, and undisciplined men, taken from the plow-tail or the sheep-fold; neither was a quarter part of them well armed or cloathed. Some had scythes fastened to the end of long poles; a dreadful weapon in appearance, but of no manner of use in war, especially against fire-arms; some had old rusty match-locks; others had rotten pikes or halberds that had been used in your admired *Oliver's* days; very few had carbines, fuzees, or good musquets: so that king *James*, far from depending upon them, as you say, did not think fit to stay to see the issue; but took fifteen hundred of the best of his horse, with *Sarsfield* at the head of them, to escorte him to *Dublin*, three hours before the battle began. If you can contradict this, I am sure you are obliged in honour to do so, after what you have said.

ON the other side, king *William* had thirty-five thousand men, some say, a great many more, of as fine troops, and as well disciplin'd, as were that day under the sun; but you must not suppose, that they were all *English*. There were *Danes*, *Brandenburgers* and *Dutch*, all veteran troops, and the very flower of the countries they came from. There was also a good number of *French* refugees, who had

left their country, upon account of religion, and whose courages were whetted with resentment. This diversity of nations was a great advantage to that army, by the generous emulation it bred among the foreigners, not only to rival the *English* in bravery, but also to outdo one another, for the honour of their country. To this we may add another advantage, they had K. *William* to lead them. The defeat of the *Irish* cannot then, without manifest injustice and partiality, be attributed to their want of courage ; since it is evident, it was owing to nothing so much as to their want of experience, to their want of arms, and to the infatuation of king *James* himself.* He was advised to throw up a trench on the banks of the *Boyne*, where the river was fordable, to break down the bridge, about a mile from his camp, and to stay with his army. Had he done so, king *William* must have been obliged to march back, in three or four days, to the north

* All *Europe* was surprized to see so experienced a captain, as the king was universally and deservedly acknowledged to be, giving up the only kingdom he had left, as well as the hopes of ever regaining the other two, by letting his enemies escape him at *Dundalk*, where their weak condition had entirely put them in his power. His officers laid before him the great advantages he was then master of ; the old gentry of *Ulster* did the same, and only desired arms for themselves and their followers, to attack duke *Scomberg* in his sickly camp, and leave the king's army spectators of the action. All those who wished him well, were perpetually remonstrating to him the danger of letting fortune slip out of his hands ; but he was deaf to every thing they offered, and left them astonished and enraged at his obstinacy.

north for subsistence. But it is remarkable, that king *James*, either in prosperity or adversity, hardly ever took one right step, from the time he mounted the throne, until he entirely lost it. These words may, perhaps, offend you ; but pray suspend your anger until I tell you, that I don't mean to throw any slur upon the courage of that unhappy prince, who was the finest gentleman, and the truest friend that the age produced ; he was also a man of excellent sense, but intoxicated with a notion, the *English* would call him home again, and that very notion made him commit a multitude of errors. The great *Turenne's* character of him puts his courage above the power of detraction ; he had, besides all the other qualities and virtues required in a prince and a hero ; but his honest, sincere heart left him open to the artifices of his enemies ; and his credulity and good-nature made him the property of those whom he trusted ; but I assure you, they were not the *Irish*, who can no more be justly called cowards, for losing the battle of the *Boyne*, than the confederate army can be branded with cowardice, for being defeated at *Landen* : One was as much a rout in the close of the action as the other ; and the latter attended with some circumstances of disgrace, on the side of the confederates, which the *Irish* are entirely free from. Here, sir, I beg leave to make a little digression.

THE *Romans*, with an handful of men, in comparison of the *Britons*, conquered the

greatest part of the island of *Britain*, and kept possession of it four hundred years. Most of what the *Romans* possessed fell afterwards to the share of the *Saxons*. The *Irish*, who were called *Scots* until the tenth century, likewise conquered *North-Britain*, or *Albany*, to which they gave the name of *Scotland*, and destroyed the *Pictish* kingdom: Yet no author ever yet called either the *Britons* or the *Picts* cowards, because they lost their country. The *English* were subdued by the *Danes*, and groaned under the yoke of three successive *Danish* kings. They had hardly recovered their liberty, when the duke of *Normandy* also, with an army much inferior to king *Harold's* in number, conquered all *England* in one day, and kept it in bondage until he died. Would it be fair, nevertheless, in a *Dane*, or a *Norman*, to say, from these events, that the *English* wanted courage, or that they were infamous for cowardice, whenever they fought against those nations? Such a proceeding in them would be to make a satire upon themselves; since there cannot possibly be any honour acquired in overcoming a coward. For this reason you ought to ask pardon of your countrymen, for the affront you have given them, in telling the world, it was with a parcel of mere paltrons, divided among themselves, and parcelled out into several petty principalities, that the *English* were struggling and fighting five hundred years before they could become entire masters of *Ireland*. But I let that pass, because passion
and

and spleen got the better of your judgment, and tumbled you headlong into a blunder from which a little good-nature, and the least share imaginable of common sense, would have saved you. It is yet within our memory, that fourscore thousand *Muscovites*, with their Czar in person, ran from eight thousand *Swedes*, led by the late K. of *Sweden*; and that, a few years after, the same Czar, with his *Muscovites*, when disciplined, and used to fire, beat his *Swedish* majesty, at the head of an army, which, when in the empire, had put the grand alliance itself into a consternation. Here was a strange turn of fortune; a gallant, and for a long time, victorious king, esteemed the hero of the age, forced, at last, to fly to the *Turk* for shelter, from an enemy whom he had always despised, as much as you would have *Englishmen* despise the *Irish* at present. The *Muscovites* are now become as good troops as any in Christendom, and have shewn, upon several occasions since, that the want of discipline and experience, was no more a proof of any deficiency of courage in them at *Narva*, than the defeat of a raw, untrained, ill-paid army at the *Boyne*, is a demonstration of the want of natural bravery in the *Irish*.

To return to that battle from which I have made a longer digression than I thought to do; the *French* were above one thousand eight hundred, tho' not much more; they were called *Surlaube's* brigade, and consisted of five battalions of eight companies to a battalion, and fifty men to a company; those were all the
French

French troops that were ever sent to *Ireland*; for which I appeal to the war-office of *France*. For those five half battalions, as I may call them, commanded by the duke *de Lausun*, *Louis XIV.* had five compleat regiments out of *Ireland*, under the command of the lord *Mount-casbel*, some time before the battle of the *Boyne*: So that the *Irish* were considerable losers by the exchange, as we shall see immediately. What became of *Surlaube's* brigade, particularly his own regiment, I shall also shew in its proper place; but I must first let you know, for the honour of *France*, that they were not properly *French*, tho' called so, because in the service of that crown: Those troops were mostly composed of *German* deserters, *Wal-loons*, *Flemings*, and stragglers of other nations; by their behaviour, wherever they passed in *Ireland*, they may be justly called the scum and refuse of their respective countries. They were posted near an *English* mile from the place where the heat of the action happened, and they had ten fine field-pieces; their can-neers were such wretched fellows, that the *Irish* were forced to drive them from their guns, and manage them themselves. *Surlaube's* own regiment, as I was informed by an *Eng-lish* gentleman, who had been a cadet in it in *France*, was broke for running away at *Blen-beim*, and that too at their colonel's own request, to punish them for their cowardice. *Surlaube* himself was a *Swiss*, a good officer, and a gallant man, he was mortally wounded at *Blenheim*, and the dying petition he sent to
his

his master was, to put that mark of infamy upon his regiment, for abandoning him in the day of battle. Those were some of the boasted auxiliaries sent to the assistance of the *Irish*.

Now I shall consider what you so boldly advance, and by the magisterial air with which you assert it, seem to stake your reputation upon the issue; but that I may not do you any injury in wresting the sense of your words, I shall repeat them once more. "Inasmuch," (*you say*) "that it is universally granted, that king *James* the second could not have been so easily drove out of *Ireland*, if he had not depended too much upon the courage of the natives, and refused those *French* troops which his brother of *France* would have sent to his assistance: It was to this that our victory was so easy at the *Boyne*." Good God! Is it possible for any gentleman, any honest man to write in such a manner? I don't blame you, sir, for not being well informed; it may be any man's case; but I cannot excuse you for writing in so positive a stile upon a subject of which, to say the most that can be said in your favour, you are so entirely ignorant. If that refusal was not made in *Ireland*, there is neither language nor sense in what you say, nor can many living tell what you mean by it; since it is evident, that had the offer you mention been made when the king was in *England*, as it certainly was, and his majesty had accepted it, the seat of war must have been there of course, and consequently the

two

two armies had never met at the *Boyne*. If you were aware of this, and therefore purposely placed the refusal where you have done, in order to throw a blind before your readers, that the generality of them might not see through the malice and dishonesty of the assertion, give me leave to tell you, in plainer *English* than I thought I could prevail upon myself to write, that you are capable of saying any thing. The fact in reality was thus. When the *Dutch* were arming, in order to invade *England*, *Louis XIV.* sent king *James* an account of it, at the same time, offered him a good body of troops from *France*, for his security, which the king absolutely refused ; I don't presume to assign the reasons his majesty had for that refusal, but I take one of them to have been, because he would not burthen his country with too many foreigners. He had not then had any opportunity of trying the courage of the *Irish* at home, tho' I acknowledge he had been pretty well acquainted both with it and their generosity to him and his brother abroad, neither had any enemy appeared as yet to give him reasons to suppose, that his last stake was to be laid upon the behaviour and fidelity of that nation to him. It is to be presumed, from his conduct, that he thought of nothing less than he did of that point. He had a gallant army of *English* protestants, who, in any other cause, would have sacrificed their lives for him, and defended him against any invader whatever ; he infatuatedly thought they would abandon the interest of their religion so far

far as to do the same in supporting his measures for introducing *Popery* : This was his great mistake : And another of his reasons, I suppose, for refusing the offers of *Louis* the XIVth, whose protection he was soon after obliged to sue for in person. When he came to *France* his brother *Louis* gave him a generous and friendly reception, with large promises of assistance ; and *Louvois* himself, who was then prime minister, and to do him justice, a very extraordinary man, was so sanguine and hearty in his interest, that he made him the following proposal, by way of request. *Sire* (says he to king *James*) *if your majesty will be pleased to make my son Curtenveau general of the French troops to be employed in Ireland, he shall be supplied with men and money, and every thing ; nothing shall be wanting ; he shall have the best lieutenant generals and officers in France, to advise and assist him : All that I humbly ask in return, from your majesty, is, that he may have the glory of preserving that kingdom for you.* This was certainly a very handsome proposal in Mr. *de Louvois* ; and I believe there was no prince in the world, king *James* excepted, but what would have closed with it, had he been in the like circumstances. But the king, unfortunately for himself and his friends, but as fortunately for the protestant interest in *Europe*, was under a prior engagement to *Monsieur de Lauzun*, to whom he had promised the command of those troops ; and he thought he could not, in honour, recal his promise. Some people, particularly the *Irish*,

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because,

because they were the greatest, and indeed, the only sufferers, at that time, by it, have highly blamed the king for this step : But whether he acted prudently or not, as his affairs stood at that time, his very enemies must allow, that it shew'd a great soul in him, to preserve so inviolable a regard to his word, when he saw it tend so visibly to his destruction. Pray, sir, do you call this refusing the offers of his brother of *France*, because he depended too much upon the courage of the *Irish* ? If you do so, you are certainly a great *Logician*. I have related the fact fairly, and every man may judge what he pleases of it. From that very moment his interest went to wreck in the *French* court, *Louvois* not only grew cold to him, but became secretly his enemy ; and, by what I am going to relate, you may judge how likely that poor prince was to be well supplied, either with men, or money, or any thing else. His majesty, very soon after, found himself in exceeding streights for want of money, and sent a person of great distinction, to desire the minister to let him have the quarter's pension, then running on ; but the disgusted, and, in this respect, I may say, the inhuman *Louvois* made this brutish answer, *Go tell your master, that the quarter is not yet expired*. This you will surely allow was very harsh and rude to a once great, but then unfortunate king. But what is it that a minister cannot do, either in an absolute government, or even in such where his master

thinks

thinks every thing he does is well done. To make this matter a little clearer to you, king *James*, after the loss of his crown, was forced to become a pensioner to *France* for subsistence ; and *Louis* the XIVth settled six hundred thousand livres a year upon him. The generous monarch himself thought it too small a sum to answer the distressed king's necessities, and those of his followers, and therefore would have made it a million ; but king *James* could not be prevailed upon, either by *Louis* or his own friends, to accept so much, and, at last, plainly told them, that his conscience would not permit him to contract one penny of debt more than was absolutely necessary to support him, or to contribute, in any respect, to the increasing an expence which must fall upon his subjects at his restoration. Surprising love to a people who were then actually in arms against him ! his usual expression, when in *England*, was, that his heart was entirely *English* : This is a most illustrious proof that it was truly so ; and I don't believe, all circumstances considered, that any history can produce an example of so exalted a virtue. Tho' indigent and distressed, tho' surrounded with calamities and misfortunes on every side, he could not think of softening them in any degree, but by such means as he apprehended might not bring a future incumbrance upon his country. He had the queen, the chevalier, and soon after a daughter, besides a crowd of ruined friends, to provide for ; yet he thought fifty thousand pounds a year enough to sup-

ply all wants, and even too much to burthen *England* with. In the behaviour of king *James* upon this occasion, all princes who are desirous of living in the esteem of mankind, and dying in the favour of God, may find several things worthy of imitation. Here is œconomy and good husbandry laid before them : here is true heroism, and true christianity ; not only in pardoning and loving his enemies, but in studying and seeking their interest and advantage, to the detriment of his own. What a glorious great king would he not have made ! what a blessing ! what a happiness ! with such a fund of goodness and paternal affection for his subjects, would he not have been to three kingdoms, if the bias he took, in the debated points of religion, had not put him upon measures which lost him their hearts, and brought him to that low condition in which he found himself at the *Boyne* ! I have been more particular in that affair, and the king's refusal of offers of assistance from *France*, than, I believe, the subject strictly required, because they are two points in which you assume a great deal of triumph, but with how much reason, the world may judge.

AFTER the action of the *Boyne*, king *James* made no stay at *Dublin*, but went directly to *Munster*, where he took shipping for *France*, in *July*, 1690. The *Irish*, in the mean time, marched on leisurely to *Limerick*, without being pursued. Of *Surlaube's* brigade, several hundreds took again to their old trade of desertion after the battle, and the rest were immediately

ly sent away to *Galway*, and there shipped off for the country from whence they came. A few *French* officers indeed, perhaps fifty or sixty, staid among the *Irish*, as majors and adjutants to exercise and discipline the men, as did also brigadier *Boisseau*, and those were all the *French* troops that remained in *Ireland*. As to *St. Ruth*, he was sent over from *France* the year following, to command the *Irish*, but without any *French* troops with him; and major general *Tesse*, brother to the mareschal of that name, with major general *Duffon*, were sent by *Louvois*, as observators upon his conduct.

THE next thing we have to do, is to see how these pusillanimous, cowardly *Irishmen*, as you stile them, behaved themselves (after killing the great *Scomberg* at the *Boyne*) without any mixture of *French* troops against king *William* in person, and his victorious army of veterans, before *Limerick*.

LAUSUN was already gone to *France*; for when he went to *Limerick*, and took a view of the fortifications, he swore by G—d, that his master would take it with roasted apples, (*avec des pommes cuites*) and wrote to *Louis* the XIVth to withdraw his men, if he had not a mind to lose them, which, as I have already observed, was done accordingly. This was the man for whom king *James* made *Louvois* his enemy. And here it is proper to remark, that the *Irish* were so far from being assisted with *French* troops, that they had no equivalent of men for the five *Irish* regiments sent into *France* under *Mount-casbel*; the
want

want of which regiments prov'd a great damage to the *Irish*, and hasten'd the loss of their country. Had such an additional strength been at *Limerick*, in the first siege, king *William's* army, in all probability, had been entirely ruined; since, as it happened, it came off but little better, as I am going to shew you.

BOISLEAU, and four *Irish* brigadiers, as assistants to him, have the defence of the place committed to them. In the mean time, king *William* pushed on the siege with such skill and vigour, that a breach was made capable of receiving forty men a breast, and so practicable by the easiness of the ascent, that a coach might drive a full gallop into the town. The *English* then have orders to storm, which they do with irresistible fury, and their usual intrepidity. The dispute is bloody, and the breach obstinately defended by the *Irish*, who then gave proofs, that they are not always infamous for cowardice, when they fight against *English* men. But however brave they are, the *English* gain part of the ramparts, in spite of all their resistance, and at last force into the town itself sword in hand, where the *Irish* fight no longer in defence of *Limerick*, but for their lives and fortunes, and every thing that was dear to them: death sets up his standard, and a new carnage begins. Fortune changes sides; the *English* are pushed back to the ramparts; they are drove from thence into their trenches, or tumbled over the curtain; they are drove out of their trenches also, and those who were to sustain them,

them, beaten back to the body of their own army. That day may well be called a day of blood and slaughter, in which the *Irish* suffer'd severely, and king *William* lost above six thousand men. His majesty had the mortification to see all this, but neither threats nor entreaties could prevail upon his men to renew the assault. Now, sir, if the *Irish* were naturally and really cowards, as you describe them to be, what became of the honour of the *English* and king *William* that day? I hope you will not deny that the town was storm'd, and the king's troops beaten off and pursued. It is a fact too well known to be concealed, otherwise I would not have mentioned it here; no, not even to gain the argument against you, tho' I had no other circumstance of the bravery of the *Irish* to produce. What excuse can you make for the loss of the train coming to king *William* from *Dublin*? what name will you give to the action of *Sarsfield*, when he defeated their convoy, burst the guns, and destroy'd all the provisions and warlike stores for the *English* army, and that too within six or seven miles of their camp? what do you think of his fine retreat back to *Limerick*, in spite of all the parties that were sent to intercept him, upon the noise the heavy artillery made in bursting? were these the actions of cowards, or of soldiers? or, were king *William* and his army playing booty at that time?

WHATEVER the matter was, the loss of the train, seconded by the resolution and activity of the *Irish*, obliged his majesty to raise the siege?

siege ? this was done with such precipitation and confusion, that his hospital, in which were fifteen hundred sick and wounded, took fire, and all those poor creatures perished in the flames. The *Irish* endeavoured to save them ; but the hospital being all timber-work and deal-boards, it burned too furiously to admit of any relief. Some say that this misfortune was merely accidental, as I hope it was ; others have reported, but, perhaps, as maliciously as you write, that the hospital was fired with design, to prevent the *Irish* from being encouraged, by the number of the sick and wounded in it, to follow the king's army, and cut off his rear. But, whether it was so or not, one of these two things you must grant me ; either the *Irish* had courage, and fought well, or else king *William* was not so gallant and so consummate a general, nor his troops such brave fellows as the world esteemed them to be ; since they were constrained to raise the siege, and leave their enemy master of the field, the rest of the campaign, tho' in no condition, for want of necessaries and money, to make an offensive war. *Utrum horum mavis accipere.* I might have concluded the affairs of *Ireland*, of which I am not writing a history, but an answer to your injudicious reflections ; but since you have been so copious upon the battle of *Agbrim*, I shall also follow you thither.

As you allow, that we owe our victory there to the accidental death of Mr. St. *Ruth*,
I shall

I shall prove, from your own words, that either the *Irish* fought gallantly that day, or else, that the *English* fought but very indifferently; for, instead of *ten thousand Frenchmen*, which you most ignorantly assure us were at *Agbrim*, there was not, at that time, one battalion, troop, or company of *French* in all the *Irish* army, for which I appeal again to the war-office of *France*. As your honour now lies at stake, you (as you have certainly interest enough to do) ought to procure, from the *French* court, a list or certificate of their troops, if there were any there: I challenge you to produce such an one (within a month after the publication of this letter) signed by the secretary at war in *France*, and specifying the regiments, whether horse, foot, or dragoons, the colonels names, the number of troops or companies in each regiment, and the number of commissioned, non-commissioned officers, and private men in each troop or company of *French* in *Ireland*, either at the first siege of *Limerick*, in the year 1690, or at the battle of *Agbrim*, in the year 1691. You see, sir, that I put this point to a very short issue between us. *France* will reap too much honour by it to refuse you such a certificate, but she has also too much honour to grant you a false one. It is not above two hours work for an ordinary clerk, to look over the books in the office, and write out the list; wherefore you ought to think yourself obliged to me, for putting you in the way to convince *Britons*

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that you can prove One of the many things you have asserted, with so much confidence, against the *Irish*; but let me advise you, in the mean time, to take care that there be no forgery in the case; if you dabble that way, I shall certainly detect and expose you. Until you produce this certificate, and rally your ten thousand *Frenchmen* to your succour, I presume that every man in *Britain* will allow me to be in possession of the argument, and think I am in the right when I positively affirm, that it was an entire, unimixed body of *Irish* that fought us at *Aghrim*, tho' under the command of a *French* general, as our army was commanded by a *Dutch* one; and, without the interposition of providence, would have overthrown, in one day, the work of five hundred years; and destroyed the *English* interest in *Ireland*, which had cost so many hundred thousand lives, and so immense a treasure, to bring it to the condition it then was in. But tho' they behaved themselves so well in that battle, they were but in very indifferent circumstances to do so. They were half starved for want of provisions, thro' the ravage both armies had made in that part of the kingdom the year before.. On the other hand, our army was supplied with provisions from *Leinster* and *Ulster*. The *Irish* were also ill-paid, and worse clad: *Louvois* was their enemy, for the reasons I have already mentioned: King *James's* brass money was quite discredited, even among the *Irish* themselves, and
coin

coin came very sparingly from *France*. *St. Ruth* himself was so sensible of the disadvantages his army labour'd under, that he gave battle in a sort of despair; for he had not heard that his great enemy, *Louvois*, was dead, thirteen days before. His despair proceeded from what I am going to tell you.

WHEN he lay encamped on the *Conaught* side of the *Shannon*, one of the greatest rivers in the three kingdoms, general *Genkle*, who commanded the *English* army, marched to besiege *Athlone*, in the centre of *Ireland*, of which he was afterwards made earl by king *William*, for his gallant services in that kingdom. *Athlone* may properly be called two towns, join'd by a bridge over the *Shannon*, one in *Leinster*, and the other in *Conaught*. *Genkle* made himself master of the *Leinster* side, called, as I have been informed, the *English Town*, which was but slightly fortified, and, in a manner, neglected by the *Irish*; but the other held out, and would have baffled him too, notwithstanding all his bravery, if *St. Ruth* had followed *Tyrconnel's* advice, which was unanimously backed by all the *Irish* general officers: It was to throw down all the fortifications between the town and their own army, that in case the *English* should force in, the *Irish* might have that side open to relieve the town, and drive them out again. The *French* general was deaf to this advice, and look'd upon them to be a parcel of madmen, to talk of demolishing their own fortifications.

As the bridge was broken down, he thought it absolutely impossible for the *English* to pass such a river as the *Shannon*, where no ford had ever been discovered, and could never be persuaded to let more than five regiments lye in the town. It seems he knew the *English* as little as you do the *Irish*. In the mean time *Genkle*, who, to the honour of *Holland*, was a *Dutchman*, and an experienced soldier, found a ford, which the *English* pass'd in the evening, and attack'd the town in a place, where the river had been thought a sufficient fortification. Thus *St. Ruth*, who was sent from *France* to command the *Irish*, lost their country for them, by depending too much upon himself, and too little upon the natives. He was so sensible of his error, when he saw it, tho' too late; so dejected at the misfortune he had brought upon the *Irish* by his obstinacy, and so afraid of *Louvois*, who was his mortal enemy, and who he knew would not fail to make a handle of it to ruin him with his master, that he resolved either to repair his fault in a few days, or die in the attempt. The latter he gallantly did at *Agbrim*, but would have effected the other, had he outliv'd that battle, which was fought in *July* 1691, and followed by the siege and reduction of *Limerick*, and indeed of all *Ireland*.

At *Limerick* there was brandy enough, but very little bread; that town was then the common refuge of the unfortunate, and the vast concourse of useless mouths exposed the place

place to the danger or dread of a famine. Wherefore, the *Irish* seeing themselves abandon'd on all sides, and having no hopes of assistance from *France*, or holding out against the united power of *England* and *Scotland*, strengthened by the possession of a great part of *Ireland* itself, they thought it more prudent to save a part than desperately venture any longer the loss of the whole. They made articles with *Genkle* at *Limerick*, rather like victors, than men who had not courage to defend themselves. All *Europe* has heard of the noise the parliament of *England* made about those articles, and the alterations they thought fit to make in them.

Now, sir, let me shew you of what importance the preservation of *Ireland* for king *James* would have been to *France*, and of what consequence the putting an end to the war there was to *England*. The *Irish*, by those too remarkable campaigns I have mentioned, kept at least forty thousand brave troops in play, most of whom would have been employed in *Flanders* against *Louis XIV.* as they afterwards were, through *Louvois's* resentment against king *James*. The *Dutch* gazette took notice about that time, that the affairs of *Europe* seem'd to be in a sort of *Æquilibrium*, but that the fate of a certain island would soon determine to which side the scale was likely to turn. That certain island was *Ireland*, to which if *Louvois* had sent the ten thousand *Frenchmen* you mention, as any minister

nister would have done, that did not prefer the gratification of his own private revenge to the publick service of his country, and the interest and glory of his master; the *Irish*, with their assistance, and necessary warlike stores, would have kept *Ireland* for king *James*, in spite of all attempts to wrest it from him, and king *William* never could have been in any tolerable condition to make head against the *French* in *Flanders*. The flame, in all probability, would have spread again into *Scotland*, and might perhaps have scorched *England* itself. What the consequence of all this would have been, *Europe* knows perfectly well; and I believe *France* is very sensible too, how little she owes, on that score, to the memory of *Louvois*, who, tho' a very great man in every other part of the administration, by this wilful neglect of his duty, may be justly said to be the source of all those calamities and misfortunes which have since fallen upon *France*, to which the great *Louis* the XIVth was exposed in the latter part of his reign.

I BELIEVE what I have said is sufficient to convince every body, even Mr. *Walsingham* himself, that the *Irish* have not deserved the reflections cast upon them in the *Free-Briton*. I shall now add a word or two in behalf of their generosity, as well as their fidelity to a cause, which the principles of education taught them to look upon as a very just one. In doing so, I shall not lead you so far back as the exile of king *Charles* II. when most of the
Irish

Irish officers then in service abroad allowed him a good part of their pay towards his subsistence, but confine myself entirely to the last war in *Ireland*.

AFTER the battle of the *Boyne*, king *William* sent to *Tyrconnel*, who still remained lord lieutenant of *Ireland* for king *James* after that prince's departure for *France*, with offers to the *Irish* of all their estates as they stood before the revolution, the free exercise of their religion; the capacity of entering into civil employments, with several other advantages, among which, as I have been positively assured, was that of having half the garrisons in the kingdom for their security, and the performance of articles. The duke, whose thoughts, to do his memory justice, were turned to peace, and the safety of his countrymen, when he found king *James's* way of thinking, and saw the behaviour of *Louvois*, look'd upon king *William's* offers to be too generous, and too good to be refused, he communicated them to the *Irish* chiefs, and pressed the acceptance of them in the most earnest manner; but they were universally rejected by those infatuated men, and *Tyrconnel* himself was in no small danger of his life, for proposing them. After the first siege of *Limerick*, the king, who knew of what mighty importance the quieting the *Irish* was to the common cause, and how much they retarded the designs of the allies in *Flanders*, made the same, or rather more advantageous offers to the duke,

duke, and the duke ventured to propose them a second time to his countrymen, but with as little success: They were stiffly opposed by the earl of *Lucan*, the lord *Kilmallock*, another branch of the family of *Sarsfield*, baron *Purcell* the colonels *O Neil*, *O Carrol*, *O Connel*, and several persons of great account among the *Irish*. Can you then, without blushing, ask what service the *Irish* ever did for king *James* or the *Pretender*? was it no service to continue firm to him when *England* and *Scotland* had given their crowns to another prince? was it no service to his cause? was it no advantage to his ally, *Louis* the XIVth, to keep *England* embarrassed three years? some people think that the battle of *Fleurus* was but a drawn one; and that if the troops which were employed with king *William* in *Ireland* in the year 1690, had been at that battle, as they might have been, if the *Irish* had not made a diversion by continuing in arms for king *James*, the victory would, probably, have followed the standards of the allies. You may perhaps retort upon me, that most of them were afterwards at the battle of *Landen*, which we also lost to the *French*; but, before you do so, take a little time to consider, that *Louis* the XIVth had as many *Irish* by the capitulation of *Limerick*, to balance them; not one of whom either would or could have gone into his service, had they accepted king *William's* first or second offer. Whether the *Irish* abroad are still attached to the *Chevalier* by inclination,

which

which you seem to question, is not the point. As the case stands, they are attached to him, by a much stronger motive than that of inclination, according to the modern morality; they are attached to him by interest, since they expect that his establishment in *England*, or even in *Ireland*, would restore them to their estates, and those advantages they possessed when King *James II.* came to the crown. If interest, as I presume it does, makes you write, and throw out your reflections at random, as you do: If it has influence enough over you to make you hazard your reputation, to expose yourself to be censured as a barefaced sinner, and a deceiver of the publick; it may, possibly, have as powerful an effect upon unhappy gentlemen, who by the loss of plentiful fortunes at home, have nothing left them but their swords, to procure a scanty, painful maintenance abroad. Their inflexible steadiness to the interest of an unfortunate and declining king, whom they looked upon to be their lawful sovereign, notwithstanding our acts of parliament to the contrary; their refusal of those advantageous terms which King *William* so generously offer'd them; their exposing themselves to inexpressible hardships, to perpetual dangers, and even death itself, rather than acknowledge any other prince than king *James*, at least, while any farther resistance in his favour was practicable, first gain'd them that esteem in *France*, which their behaviour ever since has preserved for them

even to this day. Nor has the *British* ministry seemed at any time, to have a lower notion of them than the *French* have all along had. What you offer, by way of reflection upon them, rather justifies my assertion, than makes in any respect, for your purpose. Our ministers never thought that they wanted either courage or affection for the *Chevalier*; they rather knew, that they had more of both than was consistent with the interest of the protestant succession; and it was for this reason, and not for any cowardice in the *Irish*, as you say with your usual politeness and veracity, that towards the end of the war, our regiments had orders not to recruit in *Ireland*. It was not only a common thing to recruit there before, but even entire regiments were raised in that kingdom, of which I can name several, until the experience we had of their frequent desertions to the *French* and *Spaniards*, shew'd us, that to list men in *Ireland*, was only to recruit for the *Irish* troops in the service of *France* and *Spain*, and, consequently, to raise forces, at that time, for the *Chevalier*: it demonstrated where their inclinations lay, and makes point blank against your argument. I can also name a regiment or two, or, perhaps, more in *Flanders*, in the year 1708, which we generally call the campaign of *Lisle*, that lost considerably by desertion; one of them no less than one hundred and thirty men, as well as I can remember: they all went off to the *Irish*, and fought against us at *Malplaquet*.

quet. They were esteemed brave fellows in our regiments, and I can hardly think, that changing sides abated any thing of their courage.

To be accounted brave by a nation, which in a series of five hundred years war with *England*, some little intervals excepted, has given proofs of the utmost bravery that men are capable of, is a commendation in itself above the reach of any pen ; and mine, indifferent as it is, had never been employed again upon this subject, had you not forced me to appear in my own vindication. I have told you in the beginning of this letter, that I have formerly took notice in print of the courageous and gallant behaviour of the *Irish* abroad ; in direct contradiction to what I have said of them, you call them infamous cowards, and what not. This base proceeding in you, which cannot be parallell'd in any polite nation, is, in some measure, to give me the lie, at a time, when the circumstances in which I stand with the ministry, and my absence from *Britain*, put it entirely out of my power to return it in any other manner. I assure you, Mr. *Walsingham*, that I am no way concerned for the honour or character of the *Irish* troops : I am very indifferent whether they are brave or not, further than as the use that is, or may be made of them, may affect the safety of the Protestant succession or disturb the repose of *Great Britain*. It is publickly, and even but too notoriously known both in *London* and *Paris*,

that the *Irish* officers are not my friends, neither does any man look upon me to be theirs. I have had no commerce or conversation with them these nine years past, nor do I ever propose or design to have any. These are the terms on which I stand with them at present, particularly with one of the greatest of their generals, and I presume you are no stranger to the cause of our quarrel. But tho' we are enemies, I know what it is to be a generous and a fair one; I know the duties of a gentleman and a christian, both which teach me to have a strict regard to truth and justice, when the situation of affairs, or the service of my country, call upon me to meddle with any person's character in publick. Had you done so, sir, when you made those gentlemen the subject of your paper, you would have saved me the pains of writing so long a letter, and gained applause to yourself (the constant reward of impartiality and sincerity) instead of the just and open reproof which I now give you, and which I shall still continue a little further, by exposing a nice piece of your *Legerdemain*, in that paragraph of yours relating to the affair of *Agbrim*. To this purpose, I must make another repetition of your own words.

“ But when that prince,” *you say* (speaking of king *James*). “ was convinced of his error, and found there was no dependence upon an entire unmixed body of *Irish*, by the sending over ten thousand *Frenchmen* under the command of Mr. *St. Ruth* he made
“ so

“ so gallant an opposition to the *English* army
 “ at the battle of *Agbrim*, that dispassionate
 “ men have thought we owed our victory to
 “ the accidental death of that general.” This
 I have already shewn to be a great panegyrick
 upon the *Irish*, in spite of your design to
 slander them, because there were no *French*
 troops at that battle : And now I appeal to
 any man who has any notion of stile, nay, I
 even appeal to yourself, whether the general-
 ity of your readers will not be apt to under-
 stand by this passage, that king *James* was in
 person at *Agbrim* ? or, whether the sense, in
 the most favourable construction, is not equi-
 vocal. If you thought the king was there,
 you was not qualified to write upon this sub-
 ject ; but if you really know that his majesty
 was not then in *Ireland*, but, as I have alrea-
 dy proved, had taken his leave of that king-
 dom, at least eleven months before, and that
 it was *St. Ruth* that commanded alone, and
 made so gallant an opposition to the *English*
 army, you most ungenerously prevaricate, and
 wilfully write bad *English* to impose upon the
 people of *England*. Had you meant fairly,
 your words would have run thus ; *But when*
that prince was convinced of his error, and
found there was no dependence upon an entire
unmixed body of Irish, he sent over Mr. St.
Ruth, with ten thousand Frenchmen, who
made so gallant an opposition to the English ar-
my, &c. In doing so, you would have acted
 like

like a candid honest man, and left no equivocation in the sense, provided always that the *ten thousand Frenchmen* had been there. This poor little artifice in you, to surprize your readers, and gain them to your side, shews plainly what a sort of man you are, and the spirit and design with which you write.

I SHALL now examine your reflections upon the *Irish* in another light ; but I must first take notice of an assertion in your post-script, namely, “ that after the abdication of the other (king *James II.*) they ruined his cause “ and lost him the kingdom of *Ireland*.” What you say here is at least as ridiculous as unjust, and deserves rather to be passed over with contempt, than to have any notice taken of it, except king *William* intended to make a present of that kingdom to king *James*. When you prove that, I’ll give you up the argument ; till then I shall state the case thus. If the *Irish* had remained quiet after king *James*’s abdication, and had submitted to king *William*, as *England* did, and as Mr. *Temple* assur’d his majesty *Tyrconnel* was inclined to do, this charge had never been brought against them ; His majesty would have taken as easy and as quiet a possession of the one kingdom as he had done of the other ; king *James* could not have given him the least opposition in doing so, *Ireland* was lost of course, for king *James*, by his abdication, and retreat into *France* ; and happy had it been for the *Irish*, if they had let him remain so ; but their evil
genius

genius hurried them on to their destruction. They were deaf to good advice ; they slighted all king *William's* generous offers ; they fought at *Agbrim* and *Limerick* rather like furies than men. They unanimously and cheerfully exposed their lives, fortunes, families, and every thing, without reserve, for king *James* : They held out as long as possible, even to the surprize of king *William* and all the world, after king *James* and *France* had in a manner abandon'd them. In the first siege of *Limerick*, they out-did the *Saguntines* themselves in bravery and resolution, in as much as they kept the town, and drove away an army much superior to *Hanibal's* in courage and discipline. Can they then with any colour of justice, good sense or common honesty, be accused of ruining king *James's* cause, and losing him the kingdom of *Ireland* ? for shame, Mr. *Walsingham*, think better of what you say for the future. I have shewn how *Ireland* came to be lost for king *James*, and who were the cause of losing it ; the king himself by his own infatuation ; *Louvois*, by his spleen to king *James*, for refusing his son *Curtenveau*, and *St. Ruth*, by his mistake at *Athlone*, and disregard of the good advice given him : These were the joint causes of the reduction of *Ireland*, and I hope my readers are satisfied with the account I have given of that affair.

HITHERTO I have only shewn how much you have wrong'd the *Roman* catholick part of the

the *Irish*; * but now let me ask you very seriously, what reparation you propose to make to the protestant nobility and gentry of *Ireland*, for the stab you have given to the honour of their country? After having rung the changes round, and with all the verbosity peculiar to you, given full swing to your malice against *Ireland*, and every man born in it, you leave an idea with your readers, if they think you worth notice, that the *Irish* in general, *new* and *old*, *Protestant* and *Papist*, are all a promiscuous pack of rank arrant cowards. It is in vain to endeavour to shelter yourself under the silly evasion, that you meant none but the old race, and of those too none but *Papists*. Were it even so, it would be unjust and absurd. *Papists* fight as well as *Protestants*, and so *vice versa*; but your reflections seem to imply, that cowardice is a natural effect of the
air

* In the last war between the emperor *Charles VI.* and *France*, the *Irish* regiments in the service of the latter, bravely secured the retreat of the *French* army out of the empire, altho' closely follow'd by the brave count *Seckendorff*, who did his utmost to cut off their rear, but was as bravely disappointed by the intrepid behaviour of the *Irish*. Also the victory of the *French* at *Fontenoy* is chiefly attributed to the *Irish*; for when the allies in all appearance had the advantage by the bravery of their troops, the *French* king order'd the *Irish* to attack the right wing of the allies, which they did with so much resolution and bravery, not firing a shot till they push'd their bayonets into the faces of their enemies, that in spite of the intrepid behaviour of the *English*, they were obliged to retreat. *Bulkley's* regiment was engaged with the second battalion of guards, who were almost all cut off, their two pieces of cannon taken which was at the head of the battalion, &c.

air and climate of *Ireland*. It is even a crime with you to be an *Irishman*, and every one that reads your paper, must have this notion of it. To confirm us in it, you tell us, that being born in *Ireland* makes a man odious and obnoxious to *Britons*. Such are the means by which you endeavour to render some of the best subjects and bravest men in his majesty's dominions hated and abhorr'd in *Britain*, and despised by all our allies.

I HAVE often heard it said, that more than a third of the officers with the duke of *Marlborough* in *Flanders*, were *Irish*; there are also several *Irishmen* of distinction in our fleet at present; was no decency then to be preserved towards them? was no regard to be had to the heroick actions, and illustrious memory of the great *Cadogan*? could you not have said something to except an earl, who so lately commanded the army of *Great-Britain*, out of the crowd of cowards of your own creating? could not the defeat of the *Spanish* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and other great services perform'd for *Britain*, by the late lord *Torrington*, prevail upon you to give quarter to the name of *Byng*? If not, I don't wonder that you have not spared the *Ingoldsbies*, the *Palmer's*, the *Armstrongs*, the *Kanes*, the *Claytons*, and a multitude of other brave officers of that nation, both of the old and new race, who have distinguished themselves in the service of *Great-Britain*, by sea and land, and whose

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pardon

pardon I beg for not naming them here, because it would not only swell my letter too much to do so, but take up more time than I can well spare; tho' I will venture to mention that unfortunate gentleman, the late duke of *Ormond*, and I don't think that I shall either offend his majesty, or subject myself to the censure of any man of honour, or brave soldier by naming him. He is an *Irishman*, if there is any such thing in the world; he has been captain-general of *Britain*; and the greatest of his enemies will allow, that, as to personal bravery, *Cæsar* or *Alexander* never had more. *

LET me once more ask you seriously what you intended, by falling, as you have done, upon the *Irish*? did you mean by this stratagem of defamation, to light up a flame in the two kingdoms, and put *Irishmen* upon seeking after occasions to convince the world that they dare fight *Englishmen*? did you intend to take this opportunity of making more friends for the *Chevalier*, by uniting the *Protestants* and *Roman Catholics* of *Ireland*, against your country, in the common cause of defending their honour

* General *Ligonier's* regiment of horse, and to a man *Irish* protestants, behaved with the greatest bravery and resolution at the battle of *Dettingen*, which behaviour was inserted in the account of that battle, in the *London Gazette*; nevertheless, soon after was publish'd in the same *Gazette*, not to receive any *Irishman* from the impressing officers for the land service.

honour? or had you any other under-hand design in this proceeding, which you don't think safe to own?——But I say no more——there are people at the court end of the town more concern'd to take notice of it than I am.

HERE I stop, because I reserve the recruiting affair, as well as what you think the political part of your paper, for another letter, in case you oblige me to continue the dispute with you. If you do so, and dare put your true name to what you publish, you shall always find me ready to engage you, notwithstanding the helps you have, and the disadvantages I labour under. I promise you farther, not to glance at any gentleman in the administration, directly or indirectly; and this promise so publickly made, I hope will be sufficient to procure me liberty to answer you, as often as you appear upon this subject: If I do not, *Britons* may be assured that the fault does not lie at my door. When you consider the fate of the *Ostend Company*, you will not find me an antagonist altogether below your notice? I have the honour to be the first *Briton* that wrote against it; the ministry approved my notions, and did not disdain to make them their guide. I shall therefore shew them, as soon as I have leisure, and, perhaps, before the parliament breaks up, that the damage which *Britain* receives, by the present encroachments upon her commerce, and the unfriendly practices of one of her allies, in

point of trade, call loudly for her attention. In the mean time, I wait for your reply concerning the *Irish*, and am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

C. FORMAN.

P. S. I think it necessary to join to this letter, part of the character of the *Irish*, as I find it copied from a very celebrated *English* author, by Mr. Midge, in his *Present State of Great Britain*, printed in the year 1714.

“ They are of a middle stature, strong of
 “ body, of an hotter and moister nature than
 “ many other nations, of wonderful soft skins,
 “ and, by reason of the tenderness of their
 “ muscles, they excel in nimbleness, and the
 “ flexibility of all parts of their body ; they
 “ are reckoned of a quick wit, *prodigal* of
 “ their lives, enduring travel, cold and hun-
 “ ger, given to fleshly lusts, light of belief,
 “ kind and courteous to strangers, constant
 “ in love, impatient of abuse and injury, in
 “ enmity implacable, and in all affections most
 “ vehement and passionate.” Allowances be-
 ing made for the infirmities of human nature,
 this character is no disadvantageous one.
 Their vices are common, in some degree or
 other, to all nations ; and I believe there are
 very few that surpass them in their virtues.

According

According to this account of them, they must be faithful friends, but most dangerous enemies, and seem to be furnished by nature with all the qualities required in a soldier; from whence I conclude, that you are certainly very brave yourself in venturing to abuse them so *mal-a-propos*. As they are reckoned of a quick wit, some of them have made as great a figure in letters, and all the parts of divine and human learning, as their countrymen have done in arms, amidst the terrors of war. Primate *Usher*, Mr. *Molyneaux* who wrote *The Case of Ireland*, Mr. *Dodwell*, Mr. *Congreve*, Sir *Richard Steele* and dean *Swift*, whose pen, and not so poor an one as mine, ought to have been employed upon this subject, will remain standing monuments to posterity of the proof of this assertion.

F I N I S.





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